

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS TODEP 80

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDITION CAPTION TODEP 80)

E.O. 1165):GDS

TAGS:PFOR, PN

STOCKHOLM: FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY ROBERT INGERSOLL

SUBJECT: SECRETARY AND GENERAL BROWN'S MEETING

WITH GENERAL TORRIJOS

FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

1. GENERAL BROWN, DEPUTY SECRETARY CLEMENTS, AMBASSADOR JORDEN AND I MET WITH GENERAL TORRIJOS, PRESIDENT LAKAS AND FOUR OF THEIR MILITARY COLLEAGUES FOR ABOUT 45 MINUTES BEGINNING AT ABOUT 3:00 P.M. ON WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3 ON CONTADORA ISLAND.

2. SECRETARY CLEMENTS BEGAN BY SAYING THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD WANTED HIM AND GENERAL BROWN TO COME TO PANAMA, VISIT THE CANAL ZONE FACILITIES AND MEET WITH TORRIJOS AND HIS  
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COLLEAGUES. HE SAID THAT THE GENERAL SHOULD REALIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WAS NOW READY TO GO FORWARD TOWARD THE FINAL NEGOTIATION OF A NEW TREATY. THERE WERE, HOWEVER, POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES AND THIS

WOULD MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO COMPLETE THE TREATY BEFORE THE END OF 1976.

3. TORRIJOS REPLIED THAT ONE OR TWO YEARS WOULD NOT BE "A PROBLEM." THE QUESTION WAS WHETHER SOMETHING WOULD BE DONE IN THE END. "TWO YEARS ARE NOTHING IN THE FIGHT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE, WHO COUNT THE TIME BEGINNING IN 1903."

4. GENERAL BROWN THEN SAID THAT THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF HAD IN THE PAST BEEN OPPOSED TO TREATY MODERNIZATION. HE ASSURED THE GENERAL THAT THIS WAS NO LONGER SO. THE JOINT CHIEFS HAD A NEW ATTITUDE. THEY WERE UNIFIED. THIS MEANT THAT GENERAL BROWN AND OTHERS WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO BE HELPFUL ON THE HILL AND IN EDUCATING THE PUBLIC TO ACCEPT A MODERNIZED TREATY RELATIONSHIP.

5. SECRETARY CLEMENTS AND GENERAL BROWN THEN EMPHASIZED THAT ANY BREACH OF THE PEACE IN PANAMA WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE IN THE UNITED STATES. TORRIJOS REPLIED THAT HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD. IF HE COULD SIGN A DECREE TOMORROW ENSURING PEACE FOR TWO YEARS HE WOULD DO SO. PEACE COULD BE EASILY DISRUPTED BY LITTLE SPARKS FROM EITHER SIDE. ON HIS SIDE, THERE WERE THE STUDENTS. ON THE AMERICAN SIDE, ALTHOUGH THERE WAS GOOD COOPERATION AT THE UPPER LEVELS, AT THE LOWER LEVELS, POLICE, JUDGES AND OTHERS COULD CAUSE PROBLEMS, BY ADHERING TOO CLOSELY TO "THE BOOK." IT WAS THE DETAILS WHICH WERE CONSTANTLY AGGRAVATING RELATIONS. HE AND JORDEN WERE PERPETUALLY COPING WITH SUCH "DETAILS." THIS WAS ILLUSTRATED BY THE STORY OF A PARTICULAR PRISONER WHOM TORRIJOS HAD PROMISED JORDEN WOULD BE RELEASED. WHEN HE DISCOVERED HE DID NOT HAVE THE POWER TO DO SO AND THAT THE MATTER WAS FOR THE COURTS, HE BORROWED \$7,000 FROM THE NATIONAL GUARD IN ORDER TO KEEP HIS WORD TO THE AMBASSADOR. (NOW, IF THE PRISONER IS NOT FOUND INNOCENT AT TRIAL, THE NATIONAL GUARD WILL BE OUT \$7,000.) THIS WAS AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE  
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LENGTH TO WHICH HE HAD TO GO IN SMOOTHING OVER DIFFICULTIES IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE. HE HOPED THE SAME PHILOSOPHY COULD PREVAIL ON THE AMERICAN SIDE. (TORRIJOS SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED THAT OUR INTELLIGENCE WAS SEEKING TOO MUCH INFORMATION WITHIN PANAMA JUST NOW.) BASICALLY, THE U.S. SHOULD STOP ACTING LIKE AN OCCUPYING POWER.

6. SECRETARY CLEMENTS AND GENERAL BROWN ASSURED HIM THAT THEY WOULD TALK TO THE U.S. SIDE ABOUT THIS IMMEDIATELY.

7. TORRIJOS SAID HE REGARDED THE TRIP VERY SERIOUSLY. HE WAS VERY PLEASED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD SENT HIM

"FOUR STARS."

8. HE COULD VIRTUALLY GUARANTEE THE PEACE IF THERE WERE IN THE MEANWHILE SOME "CONQUESTS" TO WHICH HE COULD POINT AS EVIDENCE OF THE GOOD FAITH -- THE "ATTITUDE" -- OF THE AMERICANS. IT WAS ALL A QUESTION OF "ATTITUDE." THIS ATTITUDE COULD BE DEMONSTRATED BY THINGS LIKE FRANCE FIELD. FRANCE FIELD HAD BOUGHT SIX MONTHS TIME. WHAT WAS NEEDED NOW WERE SIMILAR "SMALL CONQUESTS." "I CAN ALMOST ASSURE YOU OF PEACE IF BOTH SIDES ARE WORKING FOR AN AGREEMENT, AND IF I CAN POINT TO SOME SMALL CONQUESTS FOR PANAMA WHICH I CAN OFFER AS PROOF OF U.S. INTENTIONS." GENERAL BROWN SAID THAT AMBASSADOR BUNKER WOULD BE LOOKING FOR SOME NEW EVIDENCE OF ATTITUDE IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS TO RESUME NEXT WEEK.

9. PRESIDENT LAKAS EXPLAINED THAT THE FRANCE FIELD RESULT HAD BEEN A LIMITED ONE, BECAUSE EVIDENTLY PANAMA WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO DO MORE THAN TAKE JURISDICTION; IT COULD NOT CONSTRUCT PERMANENT FACILITIES. FRANCE FIELD WAS IMPORTANT TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF COLON FOR EXPANSION OF THEIR LIVING AND WORK SPACE, ACCORDING TO THE PRESIDENT, BUT PANAMA ONLY HELD IT NOW UNDER LEASE. IT IS THUS IMPOSSIBLE TO MOVE AHEAD FULLY WITH THE INDUSTRIALIZATION NOW PLANNED FOR THE AREA. AND LAKAS ALSO EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR FURTHER MEASURES,

SUCH AS FRANCE FIELD, WHICH WOULD BE CONCRETE EVIDENCE  
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OF U.S. GOOD FAITH.

10. LAKAS DISCUSSED HIS KEEN PERCEPTION OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT, AND HIS LONG ASSOCIATION WITH TEXAS. LAKAS POINTED OUT THAT THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE WERE THE AMERICANS' CLOSEST FRIENDS. NO INDIVIDUAL AMERICAN HAD BEEN HURT DURING THE 1964 RIOTS. HE, LAKAS, WAS CONSTANTLY EXPLAINING TO PANAMA THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL. "LOOK AT WHAT THEY HAD DONE FOR OTHER POOR COUNTRIES;" THE ONLY REASON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE NOT FULLY PERSUADED OF THE JUSTICE OF PANAMA'S CASE IS BECAUSE THEY DO NOT FULLY UNDERSTAND IT.

11. TORRIJOS SAID THAT HE WAS "CONCERNED", FOR THE REASONS HE POINTED OUT, THE SITUATION MIGHT BE "EXPLOSIVE." AN EXPLOSION, HE RECOGNIZED, WOULD "HURT EVERYONE." THERE WERE "NO CONCRETE PROBLEMS. IT IS ATTITUDE THAT IS IMPORTANT."

12. HE HOPED GENERAL BROWN COULD SAY SOMETHING PUBLICLY ABOUT WHAT HAD BEEN SAID AT THE MEETING. GENERAL BROWN

AGREED THAT HE WOULD STATE THAT THE JOINT CHIEFS WERE  
WORKING FOR A SOLUTION.

13. SECRETARY CLEMENTS SAID THAT HE WOULD REPORT  
GENERAL TORRIJOS' COMMENTS TO PRESIDENT FORD. KISSINGER

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